

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF MISSISSIPPI
GREENVILLE DIVISION**

**DYAMONE WHITE, ET AL.,
Plaintiffs,**

Civil Case No. 4:22-CV-62-MPM-JMV

V.

**STATE BOARD OF ELECTION COMMISSIONERS,
ET AL.,
Defendants.**

EXPERT REPORT OF DR. CHRISTOPHER W. BONNEAU

I. Introduction and Qualifications

I was retained as an expert by the defendants to ascertain whether Black voters in Mississippi's state supreme court elections in District 1 lack equal opportunity to elect their preferred candidates, in violation of the Voting Rights Act. Additionally, I have examined the differences between other elections in that District as well as responded to certain claims made by the plaintiffs' experts. My findings and conclusions are solely mine and are based on Mississippi-specific voter registration and election data, research I have conducted in the writing of two books and multiple articles and chapters about judicial elections, and the findings of other scholars who have studied judicial elections. I am compensated at a rate of \$300/hour. I previously served as an expert for the defendants in *Alabama State*



Conference of the NAACP, et al. v. State of Alabama, et al. (Case No: 2:16-CV-731-WKW, 2020) and for the plaintiffs in *Greg Lopez, Rodney Pelton, and Steven House v. Jena Griswold, Colorado Secretary of State, and Judd Choate, Director of Elections* (Case No: 1:22-CV-00247-PAB).

I am Professor of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh, where I have taught since 2002. I received my BA from Valparaiso University in Political Science, Theology, and Humanities, an MA in political science from Ball State University, an MA in political science from Michigan State University, and a PhD in political science from Michigan State University.

My scholarly research primarily focuses on the nature of judicial elections. My studies have focused on all aspects of these elections (e.g., voter participation, voter knowledge, campaign fundraising, campaign spending, electoral contestation, electoral competition, the consequences of electing judges). I take an empirical approach to this topic: given that we have judicial elections in the United States, how do they actually work? I have spent most of my scholarly career seeking to answer questions about judicial elections and respond to critics of them using empirical data. I have utilized a variety of research designs and statistical techniques in this work. I have conducted surveys of voters as well as conducted experiments. Statistically, I have used everything from regression to Bayesian analysis of nonlinear models. The studies cited below, both mine and those of others, follow accepted scientific principles to study social scientific phenomenon.

To date, I have coauthored 3 books, co-edited two books, published numerous peer-reviewed scholarly journal articles (including in the most selective

and prestigious journals in the discipline) and book chapters, and received multiple grants for my research from the National Science Foundation. I have also spoken at numerous academic conferences, universities, bar associations, and legislative committees on the topic of judicial elections. My research has won multiple disciplinary awards and from 2014-2020, I was co-editor of *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, a peer-reviewed journal that publishes cutting edge research on state politics. A current version of my CV can be found in Appendix B.

II. Facts About State Supreme Court Elections

1. Judicial elections have been a part of political life since the 1820's. Indeed, Mississippi was the first state to have elections for all its judges. One of the central arguments for electing judges was to provide them with some independence from other political actors (Shugerman 2012).
2. Judicial elections were historically partisan elections, just like elections for other political offices. In 1910, North Dakota changed to nonpartisan elections for judges, where parties would not control access to the ballot by nominating candidates and candidates would appear on the ballot without partisan affiliation (Shugerman 2012).
3. Most states that elect state supreme court judges in competitive elections do so statewide, with the exceptions of Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Mississippi. In Kentucky and Louisiana, the state is divided into 7 districts, with each district electing a member of the supreme court. In Illinois, Cook County receives three judges, and the other four districts in the state receive

one judge each. In Mississippi, the state is divided into three districts, with each district electing three state supreme court judges.

4. Among the other states that elect judges in district-based elections, only Illinois has a district with more than one justice, but the other districts there only elect one justice. Illinois elections are also partisan elections for a judge's first term (with judges keeping their seats in retention elections), while Mississippi's elections are nonpartisan.
5. Electing judges remains quite popular with the public in those states with judicial elections, with polls (both nationwide and within states) showing between two-thirds and three-fourths of voters preferring to elect their judges (e.g., Bonneau and Hall 2009).
6. The data in paragraphs 6-12 are based on all partisan and nonpartisan state supreme court elections (elections that have the potential to be contested) that were held between 1990-2014. Not all studies referenced utilized data from the entire time period; something published in 2005 cannot rely on 2014 data. But, regardless of the specific time periods used in each study, the results reported are remarkably consistent. For specific details of each individual study, please consult them (citations listed in the references).
7. Nonpartisan elections for state supreme courts have less voter participation (higher levels of ballot roll-off) than partisan elections (Hall and Bonneau 2008, 2013; Bonneau and Hall 2009; Bonneau and Loepp 2014).

Interestingly, during this time period, only Mississippi had an election where *more* people voted in the state supreme court race than the highest race on

the ballot. In 2002, incumbent Chuck McRae was defeated in an election that featured higher voter participation than the US Senate race that year (Hall 2015).

8. District-based elections for the state supreme court do not result in less campaign spending overall, controlling for all other relevant factors (Bonneau 2005a; Bonneau and Hall 2009). Likewise, there are no differences in the amount of money raised by candidates in district-based elections compared to statewide elections, other things being equal (Bonneau 2007a).
9. District-based elections for the state supreme court are less likely to be contested (Bonneau and Hall 2003, 2009; Hall and Bonneau 2006, 2008).
10. Elections in nonpartisan states are less likely to be contested than elections in partisan states (Bonneau and Hall 2003, 2009; Bonneau and Loepp 2014).
11. Incumbent justices are more likely to be defeated in partisan elections compared to nonpartisan elections. Moreover, incumbent justices are more likely to lose in nonpartisan district-based elections than they are in nonpartisan statewide elections (Bonneau 2005b).
12. District-based state supreme court elections have lower levels of electoral competition compared to statewide races (Bonneau 2007b; Bonneau and Hall 2009). That is, candidates win with higher percentages of the vote in districts compared to statewide races. The same is true for nonpartisan states: candidates win with higher percentages of the vote in nonpartisan races compared to partisan races.

III. General Facts about Mississippi Judicial Elections

13. Since the 1832 Constitution, judges in Mississippi have been elected by the citizens of the state. Originally, only white men could vote and run for elected office. African-American men were formally granted voting rights in 1868 and women in 1920.
14. Article 6, Section 145 of the Mississippi Constitution provided for judges to be elected from 3 districts in the state. In 1950, Section 145B provided for a Supreme Court of 9 justices, 3 from each of the judicial districts.
15. Thus, while each district has 3 justices, each race is for a single-seat. That is, each seat is labeled Place 1, Place 2, Place 3 and candidates need to specify which seat they are contesting in elections where more than one seat is on the ballot.
16. The labeling of a seat by noting if it is for Place 1, 2, or 3, has no substantive meaning: all “places” within a district have the same electoral constituency, the same term of office, etc. The labeling of the “place” is solely administrative. There is no advantage to winning Place 1 versus, say, Place 2. This can be illustrated by Justice Griffis. In 2016, Griffis unsuccessfully challenged Justice Kitchens for the District 1, Place 3 seat. In 2019, Justice Griffis was appointed to the Court for the District 1, Place 1 seat, which he retained by winning reelection in 2020. Thus, there is nothing special about Place 1 versus Place 2 or 3, or any other combination.
17. Article 6, Section 145 states that judges should be “elected,” but does not specify the type of elections that are to occur. In 1994, Mississippi passed a

law stating, “a judicial office is a nonpartisan office and a candidate for election thereto is prohibited from campaigning or qualifying for such an office based on party affiliation” (Ms. Code 23-15-976). This change had bipartisan support (at least in the state Senate) and was approved by the US Department of Justice (Kritzer 2020).

18. Each justice has a term of office of 8 years. If a vacancy occurs due to death or retirement, the Governor has the authority to appoint a replacement. Currently, 6 of the 9 justices (1 African-American judge and 5 white judges) on the Mississippi Supreme Court obtained their position by gubernatorial appointment. They all subsequently won additional terms to the bench.
19. All eligible candidates run for a seat in the general election with no political party affiliation listed on the ballot; there are no primaries. If no candidate receives >50% of the vote, the top 2 candidates advance to a runoff election. Voter participation in runoff elections is significantly lower than it is in general elections (e.g., Report of Oliver Diaz, Jr. in this case).
20. While these races are officially nonpartisan, that does not mean that parties are not involved or that candidates are not affiliated with political parties.
21. In Justice Diaz’s report for this case (p. 3-4), he notes that “despite the fact that elections for the Supreme Court are non-partisan, such elections include many of the same features as partisan elections for political office” and “political parties and party leaders can and do make [and] endorse Supreme Court candidates.”

22. Interestingly, between 2002-2008, 8 of the 9 state supreme court elections in Mississippi involved television advertising and over \$2 million was spent. This is higher than the other nonpartisan states of Kentucky and Louisiana. Illinois, which also has district-based elections, had more spending on advertising (Hall 2015).
23. Justice Diaz's report (p. 17) also notes that in the District 1, Place 1 election in 2020, according to *Mississippi Today*, Justice Griffis was endorsed by the state Republican Party and Judge Westbrook had the support of numerous Democratic state leaders and groups.

IV. Facts about Judicial Elections in District 1

24. Since 2000, African-Americans have won 3 elections to the Mississippi Supreme Court from District 1 and lost 3 elections. In Districts 2 and 3, African Americans have won 0 races and lost 1 race.
25. In this time period, only 1 incumbent in District 1 (a white incumbent) lost his bid for reelection, Justice Smith in 2008.
26. Every election in District 1 has been contested during this time period, except 2: both elections involved Justice King, an African-American.
27. This means that there was no opposition to Justice King in his bids for reelection. Interestingly, in both elections where Justice King was uncontested on the ballot, an African-American candidate unsuccessfully challenged another incumbent in District 1. This is illustrative of the incumbency advantage candidates enjoy in Mississippi.

28. Thus, incumbent justices—both white and African-American—overwhelmingly win their bids to retain their seats. And, in fact, it is only the white judges who could potentially lose their seats because they are being challenged.

29. Among the contested races since 2000, the closest race was the 2020 race, where Justice Griffis (a white incumbent) defeated Judge Latrice Westbrook (an African-American lower court judge) by only 3%.

30. Thus, in District 1, the results of these elections do not support a finding of racial discrimination: African-American justices invariably win their bids for reelection (and, indeed, since 2000, are never challenged), and when an African-American judge challenges an incumbent, their elections are relatively close. Indeed, Justice Diaz writes in his report (p. 34), “an incumbent Black justice is far more likely to be reelected to the seat than a similarly-credentialed Black attorney who does not have experience on the Court.” The data presented above go further: an incumbent Black justice is far more likely to be reelected than a similarly-credentialed *white* attorney who does not have experience on the Court.

31. Indeed, in District 1, African-American state supreme court candidates who challenge incumbents receive an average of 46.5%, while white candidates who challenge incumbents receive an average of 42.5% of the vote.

32. Comparing the vote of similarly-situated African-American candidates to white candidates in these elections shows no evidence of racial bias in voting.

33. While there are a limited number of elections, and thus it is not possible to draw definitive conclusions, comparing African-American supreme court candidates to other African-American candidates on the ballot in the same election can be informative.

34. In 2012, in the counties that comprise District 1, President Obama (an African-American) received 229,978 votes. Albert Gore, Jr. (a white candidate for the U.S. Senate, but not the former Vice-President) received 198,285 votes, significantly fewer than President Obama. Earle Banks, an African-American candidate (who is a Democrat) for the state supreme court, received only 170,513. William Waller, Jr. (the white Republican incumbent) received 213,375 votes. Had Banks performed as well as President Obama, he would have easily won election. Instead, President Obama received almost 60,000 more votes than Banks. In the same election, Justice King won reelection unopposed. So, in that election, there was an African-American President candidate who won the vote total for District 1, an incumbent African-American justice who ran unopposed, and an African-American candidate challenging an incumbent. This pattern suggests that Banks' race was not the reason he lost; rather, he lost because voters, the same voters who supported President Obama, determined that he was not the best candidate.

35. More recently, in 2020, President Biden received 220,405 votes in the counties that comprise District 1. Mike Espy, an African-American candidate for the U.S. Senate, outperformed President Biden and received 229,498

votes in these counties. Once again, Justice King ran unopposed for his seat. Latrice Westbrooks, an African-American challenger to Justice Kenny Griffis, received only 190,455 votes; Justice Griffis was reelected with 202,530 votes, so had Westbrooks not underperformed Espy by close to 40,000 votes, she would have won her election.

36. In both 2012 and 2020, the leading vote-getter in the counties that comprise District 1 was an African-American candidate: President Obama in 2012 and Mike Espy in 2020. These Democratic African-American candidates outperformed their Republican white opponents. In both 2012 and 2020, Justice King (an African-American) ran unopposed for his seat on the bench.

37. Examining the 2012 and 2020 elections does not lead to the conclusion that the nonincumbent African-American candidates for the state supreme court lost because of their race. They may have lost because the election was nonpartisan and so it was more difficult for voters to identify their preferred candidate. They may have lost because they were not incumbents. They may have lost because voters did not think they were the best candidate for the job. But, given the vote patterns described above and the performance of other African-American candidates in the same counties on the same ballot, it is highly unlikely these candidates lost because they are African-American.

IV. Response to Plaintiffs' Expert Report of Dr. Orey

38. One of the best predictors of how individuals will vote is partisan identification (e.g., Campbell et al. 1960).

39. Because judicial elections in Mississippi are nonpartisan, Dr. Orey states in his report (p.12), “high levels of racial polarization...cannot have been driven by political party affiliation.”
40. However, Bonneau and Cann (2015) found that there are high levels of partisan voting even in nonpartisan elections. That is, voters registered as Democrats vote for the Democratic candidate (and the same for Republicans) even if the partisan identification of the candidates is not on the ballot.
41. Salter (2017) argues this holds in Mississippi as well: “Folks who tend to vote Republican have found a way to learn the identity of judicial candidates favored by Republicans and the same has been true for Democrat [sic] voters seeking to back Democrat [sic] judicial candidates.”
42. Justice Diaz’s report (p. 3-4), notes this as well: “Despite the fact that elections for the Supreme Court are non-partisan, such elections include many of the same features as partisan elections for political office. Successful campaigns are expensive, and elections are influenced by outside interest groups. In addition, even though elections are non-partisan, political parties and party leaders can and do make endorse [sic] candidates.”
43. Justice Diaz goes on to say (p. 16) that “political parties may, however, participate in Supreme Court elections by supporting candidates” and “parties, or leading State party figures, can and do endorse Supreme Court candidates.”
44. Thus, even though the party affiliation of candidates does not appear on the ballot, this does not mean that the partisan affiliation of candidates is

irrelevant; this, rather than racial polarization, could be the reason for the observed voting patterns.

45. Justice Diaz writes (p. 28), "White candidates are generally understood to be associated with the Republican party, and Black candidates with the Democratic party."

46. Indeed, in his expert report in *Hinds County Republican Party v. Hinds County* (2014), Dr. Orey stated (p. 2-3), "Results reveal that blacks provided an average of approximately 96% of their vote to Democratic candidates. In comparison, blacks provided roughly 65% of their votes to black candidates. Based on the data examined in this analysis, we can conclude that blacks support for Democratic candidates proves to be stronger when compared to their support for candidates strictly on the grounds of race."

47. Based on Justice Diaz's and Dr. Orey's reports, we would expect Black voters to choose candidates based on *party* and not based on race. And even though judicial elections in Mississippi are technically nonpartisan, we know from Justice Diaz that party influence in these elections is high and we know from Bonneau and Cann (2015) that voters are able to identify the partisan affiliation of candidates running in nonpartisan elections.

48. This explains the current composition of the justices from District 1: Justice King (African-American, Democrat), Justice Kitchens (White, Democrat), Justice Griffis (White, Republican). All of these justices have won elections as incumbents, and Justice Kitchens' election in 2008 (where he defeated Justice Smith) is the only case of an incumbent losing in District 1 since 2000.

49. In the 2008 election, there were three candidates: incumbent Justice Smith, Jim Kitchens, and Ceola James. Only James is African-American. Yet, in the general election, James came in 3rd place and did not advance to the run-off. Given that there were three candidates in the race (2 White, and 1 African-American), if James was the preferred candidate of African-Americans, she would have advanced to the run-off, with the two white candidates splitting the white vote. In fact, James only received 10% of the vote (and African-Americans are a far larger share of registered voters than 10%).

50. While an African-American candidate has not won a statewide election in Mississippi, this is not true for elections in District 1. In 2012, President Obama won 53.9% of the vote in District 1, outpacing state supreme court candidate Earle Banks by almost 10 percentage points. In 2020, Mike Espy received 54.8% of the vote in District 1, outpacing state supreme court candidate Latrice Westbrooks by 6 percentage points. Indeed, Espy even outperformed President Biden in District 1.

51. The evidence strongly suggests that African-American candidates are able to win elections in District 1 (for statewide offices as well as state supreme court) under its current boundaries.

52. Indeed, the plaintiff's examination of the 2019 elections for other offices using the same geographic boundaries as District 1 illustrates this: an African-American Democrat won an open seat on the Transportation Commission while another African-American candidate barely lost a seat to an incumbent on the Public Service Commission. This, once again, shows the

power of incumbency. The winning African-American candidate for the Transportation Commission had a larger margin of victory than the white candidate for the Public Service Commission. Race cannot be the determinant of these elections since one African-American candidate won and the other lost.

53. This does not support the third precondition of *Thornburg v. Gingles* (1986): the majority group does not vote as a bloc such that it will usually defeat the minority group's preferred candidate. In fact, the mixed success of African-American candidates in District 1 elections strongly suggests that voters (both white and Black) are making decisions based on the suitability of the candidates themselves.

V. Conclusion

54. My examination of the evidence in this case does not reveal evidence of racially polarized voting sufficient to deny Black voters equal opportunity to elect their preferred candidates in District 1 state supreme court elections in Mississippi.

55. African-American candidates do have success in running for the state high court bench and for other offices in District 1. Indeed, incumbent African-American judges often run unopposed, a sign that potential challengers view these incumbents as strong candidates and unlikely to be defeated.

56. As is true with other offices, voters in Mississippi make decisions for the state supreme court largely on the basis of political party, as shown in the reports of Dr. Orey and Justice Diaz.

57. Nonincumbent African-American candidates for the state supreme court perform significantly worse than other African-American candidates on the same ballot in District 1, indicating that race is not the determinative factor in their defeat.

I reserve the right to update this report based on additional facts, testimony, and/or materials.



Chris W. Bonneau

January 2, 2023

DATE

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**Appendix A: District 1 Mississippi State Supreme Court General Elections,
2000-2020**

Year	Winner	Loser	Winner Pct. of Vote
2000	Smith	Vollor	52.2
2004	Waller	Grindstaff	74.4
2004	<i>Graves</i>	Richardson	56.8*
2008	Kitchens	Smith	53.5
2012	Waller	<i>Banks</i>	55.6
2012	<i>King</i>		100.0%
2016	Kitchens	Griffis	54.0
2020	Griffis	<i>Westbrooks</i>	51.5
2020	<i>King</i>		100.0%

Incumbents in **bold**.

African-American candidates in *italics*.

* Election decided in run-off

Appendix B

CHRIS W. BONNEAU
Curriculum Vitae
January 2023

Department of Political Science
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

Email: [REDACTED]
Web: <http://www.pitt.edu/~cwb7>

Academic Positions

- Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, February 2019 - present
- Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, September 2008 - January 2019
- Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, August 2002 - August 2008

Administrative Positions

- Director of Graduate Studies, 2022-present
- Co-Chair, Institutional Conflict of Interest Committee, 2022-present
- Co-Director, Center for American Politics and Society (CAPS), 2013-2014
- Interim Director of Undergraduate Studies, 2008-2009

Education

- Ph.D., Political Science (American Politics, Research Methods, Positive Political Theory), Michigan State University, 2002.
- M.A., Political Science, Michigan State University, 1999.
- ICPSR Summer Program, University of Michigan. 1999.
- M.A., Political Science, Ball State University. 1998.
- B.A., Political Science, Theology, and Humanities, Valparaiso University, 1997.

Grants

- \$47,872. University of Pittsburgh Chancellor's Seed Grant, "Pitt Prison Education Project" (Chris W. Bonneau, Nancy Glazener, Cory Holding, and Shalini Puri, co-Principal Investigators). September 1, 2018-August 31, 2020.

- \$26,578. National Science Foundation, “Collaborative Research: A Workshop on the Normative Implications of Empirical Research in Law and Courts” (SES 1228172, SES 1228306; Brandon L. Bartels and Chris W. Bonneau, co-Principal Investigators). September 1, 2012-August 31, 2013.
- \$990. University of Pittsburgh School of Arts and Sciences, Type II Research Expenses Grant. Summer, 2010.
- \$80,000. National Science Foundation, “Collaborative Research: An Individual-Level State Supreme Court Database” (SES 0518491, SES 0516409, SES 0516600; Chris W. Bonneau, Paul Brace, and Kevin Arceneaux, co-Principal Investigators). September 1, 2005-August 31, 2006.
- \$4,000. University of Pittsburgh School of Arts and Sciences, Type I Third Term Research Stipend. Summer 2005.
- \$7,950. National Science Foundation, “Doctoral Dissertation Research: Money and State Supreme Court Elections” (SES 0108906; Chris W. Bonneau and Melinda Gann Hall, co-Principal Investigators). July 1, 2001-June 30-2002.

Awards

- 2021 Chancellor’s Distinguished Teaching Award.
- 2017 Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the Best Paper presented at the 2017 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association for “‘Stronger Together’: Political Ambition and the Presentation of Women Running for Office” (with Kristin Kanthak).
- 2016 Virginia Gray Best Book Award given by the State Politics and Policy Section of the American Political Science Association for the best political science book published on the subject of U.S. state politics or policy in the preceding three calendar years for *Voters’ Verdicts: Citizens, Campaigns, and Institutions in State Supreme Court Elections* (with Damon M. Cann).

Publications

Books:

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Damon M. Cann. 2015. *Voters’ Verdicts: Citizens, Campaigns, and Institutions in State Supreme Court Elections*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press. *Winner of the 2016 Virginia Gray Best Book Award given by the State Politics and Policy Section of the American Political Science Association for the best political science book published on the subject of U.S. state politics or policy in the preceding three calendar years.*
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- Hammond, Thomas H., Chris W. Bonneau, and Reginald S. Sheehan. 2005. *Strategic Behavior and Policy Choice on the U.S. Supreme Court*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Edited Books:

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Melinda Gann Hall. 2016. *Judicial Elections in the 21st Century*. New York: Routledge.
- Bartels, Brandon L. and Chris W. Bonneau. 2015. *Making Law and Courts Research Relevant: The Normative Implications of Empirical Research*. New York: Routledge.

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles:

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Kristin Kanthak. 2021. "Desk Rejecting 'Against Desk Rejects!'" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 54: 690-693.
- Bonneau, Chris W., Kristin Kanthak, Amanda Leifson, and Shane M. Redman. 2021. "The Review Process and the Citation Gap: The Role of the Editor's Nudge." *Journal of Politics* 83: 772-776.
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- Bonneau, Chris W. and Kristin Kanthak. 2020. "Women's Political Ambition and the 2016 Election." In *Good Reasons to Run: Women and Political Candidacy*, edited by Shauna L. Shames, Rachel I. Bernhard, Mirya R. Holman, and Dawn Langan Teele. Philadelphia: Temple. Pages 167-174.

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2017. "Judicial Selection in the States: A Look Back, A Look Ahead." In *Routledge Handbook of Judicial Politics*, edited by Robert M. Howard and Kirk A. Randazzo. New York: Routledge. Pages 340-351.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2016. "Fundraising and Spending in State Supreme Court Elections." In *Judicial Elections in the 21st Century*, edited by Chris W. Bonneau and Melinda Gann Hall. New York: Routledge. Pages 79-92.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Melinda Gann Hall. 2016. "Judicial Elections in the 21st Century." In *Judicial Elections in the 21st Century*, edited by Chris W. Bonneau and Melinda Gann Hall. New York: Routledge. Pages 3-14.
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- Bonneau, Chris W. and Jenna Becker Kane. 2016. "Proposals for Reforms: Successes and Failures." In *Judicial Elections in the 21st Century*, edited by Chris W. Bonneau and Melinda Gann Hall. New York: Routledge. Pages 249-261.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Brandon L. Bartels. 2014. "The Normative Implications of Empirical Research: A Research Agenda." In *Making Law and Courts Research Relevant: The Normative Implications of Empirical Research*, edited by Brandon L. Bartels and Chris W. Bonneau. New York: Routledge. Pages 3-13.
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- Bonneau, Chris W. 2009. "Judicial Elections: Facts vs. Myths." In *The Rule of Law: Perspectives on Legal and Judicial Reform in West Virginia*, edited by Russell S. Sobel. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University. Pages 63-69.
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- Bonneau, Chris W. and Tara W. Stricko-Neubauer. 2006. "The United States Supreme Court: Continuity and Change." In *Developments in American Politics 5*, edited by Gillian

Peele, Christopher J. Bailey, Bruce Cain, and B. Guy Peters. New York: Palgrave. Pages 107-123.

- Hammond, Thomas H., Chris W. Bonneau, and Reginald S. Sheehan. 2006. "A Court of Appeals in a Rational Choice Model of Supreme Court Decision-Making." In *Institutional Games and the U.S. Supreme Court*, edited by James R. Rogers, Roy B. Flemming, and Jon R. Bond. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press. Pages 127-172.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Melinda Gann Hall. 2004. "The Wisconsin Judiciary." In *Wisconsin Government and Politics*, 8th edition, edited by Ronald E. Weber. New York: McGraw-Hill. Pages 171-196.
- Hall, Melinda Gann and Chris W. Bonneau. 2000. "The Wisconsin Judiciary." In *Wisconsin Government and Politics*, 7th edition, edited by Ronald E. Weber. New York: McGraw-Hill. Pages 174-202.

Law Reviews:

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Shane M. Redman. 2015. "Much Ado About Nothing: The Irrelevance of *Williams-Yulee v. The Florida Bar* on the Conduct of Judicial Elections." *Vanderbilt Law Review En Banc* 68: 31-41.

Book Reviews:

- Bonneau, Chris W. 2019. Review of *Judicial Merit Selection: Institutional Design and Performance for State Courts*, by Greg Goelzhauser. *Law and Politics Book Review* 29: 134-135.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2017. Review of *Supreme Democracy: The End of Elitism in Supreme Court Nominations*, by Richard Davis. *Congress and the Presidency* 45 (March): 112-114.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2016. Review of *Justices on the Ballot: Continuity and Change in State Supreme Court Elections*, by Herbert M. Kritzer. *Perspectives on Politics* 14 (March): 235-236.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2012. Review of *Electing Judges: The Surprising Effects of Campaigning on Judicial Legitimacy*, by James L. Gibson. *Law and Politics Book Review* 22 (October): 469-472.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2007. Review of *Supreme Conflict: The Inside Story of the Struggle for Control of the United States Supreme Court*, by Jan Crawford Greenburg. *Law and Politics Book Review* 17 (June): 499-501.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2006. Review of *The Politics of Precedent on the U.S. Supreme Court*, by Thomas G. Hansford and James F. Spriggs, II, and *Judging on a Collegial Court: Influences on Federal Appellate Decision Making*, by Virginia A. Hettinger, Stefanie A. Lindquist, and Wendy L. Martinek. *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (December): 776-777.

- Bonneau, Chris W. 2006. Review of *Reforming the Court: Term Limits for Supreme Court Justices*, edited by Roger C. Cramton and Paul D. Carrington. *Law and Politics Book Review* 16 (May): 361-363.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2003. Review of *Judicial Review in State Supreme Courts: A Comparative Study*, by Laura Langer. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 33 (Summer): 166-168.

Encyclopedia Entries:

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2020. "The Judicial System of the USA." In *The USA and Canada 2020* 22nd edition, edited by Dominic Heaney. London: Routledge.
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- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2018. "The Judicial System of the USA." In *The USA and Canada 2018* 20th edition, edited by Dominic Heaney. London: Routledge.
- Bonneau Chris W. and Shane M. Redman. 2017. "*Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* (2010)." In *Encyclopedia of American Civil Rights and Liberties: Revised and Expanded Edition*, 2nd edition, edited by Kara E. Stooksbury, John M. Scheb II, and Otis H. Stephens, Jr. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO. Pages 145-146.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Sean Craig. 2017. "*Caperton v. A.T. Massey Coal Co.* (2009)." In *Encyclopedia of American Civil Rights and Liberties: Revised and Expanded Edition*, 2nd edition, edited by Kara E. Stooksbury, John M. Scheb II, and Otis H. Stephens, Jr. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO. Pages 127-129.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2017. "The Judicial System of the USA." In *The USA and Canada 2017* 19th edition, edited by Dominic Heaney. London: Routledge. Pages 110-115.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2015. "The Judicial System of the USA." In *The USA and Canada 2016* 18th edition, edited by Neil Higgins. London: Routledge. Pages 117-125.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Heather Marie Rice. 2014. "The Judicial System of the USA." In *The USA and Canada 2015* 17th edition, edited by Neil Higgins. London: Routledge. Pages 111-118.
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- Bonneau, Chris W. and Brent D. Boyea. 2013. "State Courts: Past, Present, and Future." In *Oxford Handbook of State and Local Government*, edited by Donald P. Haider-Markel. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Mark S. Hurwitz. 2012. "The Judicial System of the USA." In *The USA and Canada 2013* 15th edition, edited by Neil Higgins. London: Routledge. Pages 102-108.
- Stricko, Tara W. and Chris W. Bonneau. 2011. "Judicial Decision Making." In *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*, edited by Bertrand Badie, Dirk Berg-Schlosser, and Leonardo Morlino. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Pages 1367-1370.
- Rice, Heather Marie and Chris W. Bonneau. 2009. "Judicial Branch." In *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*, edited by Donald P. Haider-Markel. Washington, DC: CQ Press. Pages 817-819.
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- Rice, Heather Marie, Chris W. Bonneau, and Mark S. Hurwitz. 2009. "Judges." In *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*, edited by Donald P. Haider-Markel. Washington, DC: CQ Press. Pages 815-817.

Opinion:

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Kristin Kanthak. 2021. "Democracy Demands High Levels of Participation." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, October 31, 2021.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Kristin Kanthak. 2019. "The Thriving Field of State Politics." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, August 13, 2019.
- McCoy, Chris and Chris W. Bonneau. 2018. "Convoluting Judicial Amendment Subverts Voters." *The Daily Reflector*, November 5, 2018.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2018. "NC Needs to Stop Messing with Its Judiciary." *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 18, 2018.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2016. "2016: The Year We Knew Nothing." *The Cresset*. 80 (Advent): 10-11.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Sean Craig. 2015. "*King v. Burwell* and the Future of the PPACA." *Retina Today* 10 (May/June): 16-21.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2013. "Political Science Professor: Many Good Reasons for Idea of Electing Judges." *The Oklahoman*, September 8, 2013.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2013. "PA System of Electing Judges Works." *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 15, 2013.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2012. "Are Judicial Elections A Real Problem In Michigan?" *Detroit News*, June 19, 2012.

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- Bonneau, Chris W. 2011. "A Bum Rap on Elected Judges." *Washington Post*, May 26, 2011.
- Lazos, Sylvia R. and Chris W. Bonneau. 2010. "Appoint Judges? No Thanks. Elections Ensure Certain Safeguards." *Las Vegas Review Journal*, October 31, 2010.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2010. "Should Judges Be Elected? Yes." *The Costco Connection* 25 (May): 17.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2008. "2008: A Transformative Election." *The Cresset* 73 (Advent/Christmas): 24-25.

Other:

- Bonneau, Chris W. and Kristin Kanthak. 2018. "In Memoriam: Tom Carsey." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 18 (June): 119-121.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2018. "The Case for Partisan Judicial Elections." Federalist Society White Paper.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2017. "NSF Dissertation Improvement Grants." *The Legislative Scholar* 2 (Spring): 18-19.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2012. "A Survey of Empirical Evidence Concerning Judicial Elections." Federalist Society White Paper.
- Bonneau, Chris W. and Melinda Gann Hall. 2010. "'The Battle Over Judicial Elections: Right Argument, Missed Audience': A Response to Stephen Wasby." *Justice System Journal* 31 (1): 117-120.
- Bonneau, Chris W. 2008. "Formal Theory and Judicial Politics: Contributions and Cautions." *Law and Courts Newsletter* 18 (Summer): 4-6.

Current Projects

- Transparency from Start to Finish: A How-to Guide for the Social Sciences with Kristin Kanthak and Lee D. Walker.

Conference/Workshop Participation

2022

- Participant in "Desk Rejections in Political Science Journals." Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 7-10, 2022.

2020

- Participant in “State of the Field: Judicial Politics Research in 2020.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, PR, January 9-11, 2020.
- “Candidate Over Party: Split Ticket Voting in Judicial Elections” (with Damon M. Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, PR, January 9-11, 2020.

2019

- “Candidate Over Party: Split Ticket Voting in Judicial Elections” (with Damon M. Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 29-September 1, 2019.
- “How You Like Me Now? Evolving Perceptions in the 2016 Presidential Election” (with Kristin Kanthak). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Austin, TX, January 17-19, 2019.

2018

- “The Review Process and the Citation Gap: The Role of an Editor’s Nudge” (with Kristin Kanthak, Amanda Leifson, and Shane Redman.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 30-September 2, 2018.
- Participant on “The Impact of Human Subjects Guidelines and Informed Consent Scripts on Data Access and Research Transparency.” New York City, May 21, 2018.
- Participant on “Teaching Introductory Courses in Political Science: Big Ideas.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 4-6, 2018.
- “Women’s Political Ambition and the 2016 Presidential Election” (with Kristin Kanthak). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 4-6, 2018.

2017

- “Women’s Political Ambition and the 2016 Election” (with Kristin Kanthak). Paper Presented at the Good Reasons to Run Conference, University of Pennsylvania, November 11, 2017.
- “Women’s Political Ambition and the 2016 Election” (with Kristin Kanthak). Paper Presented at the 2017 Conference on New Research on Gender and Political Psychology, Tulane University, October 22-24, 2017.
- “‘Stronger Together’: Political Ambition and Women Running for Office” (with Kristin Kanthak). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 31-September 3, 2017.

- Participant in “Evolving Practices for Data Management and Sharing: A Data-PASS Workshop.” Harvard University, June 14, 2017.
- “Criminal Sentencing and the Cost of Appeal” (with Sean Craig and Kira Pronin). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 6-9, 2017.
- “Judicial Selection in a Time of Uncertainty: Irrelevant or More Relevant Than Ever.” Conference on The U.S. Judicial System in a Trump Presidency. Center for American Political Responsiveness. Penn State University. March 17-18, 2017.
- “‘Stronger Together’: Political Ambition and the Presentation of Women Running for Office” (with Kristin Kanthak). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 12-14, 2017. *Winner of the 2017 Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the Best Paper presented at the 2017 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.*

2016

- Participant on “Meet the Editors: Publishing in Political Science.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Las Vegas, NV, March 23-26, 2016.
- “Judicial Selection in the States: A Look Back, A Look Ahead” (with Heather Marie Rice). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, PR, January 7-9, 2016.

2015

- “Evaluating the Effects of Multiple Opinion Rationales on Supreme Court Legitimacy” (with Jarrod Kelly, Kira Pronin, Shane Redman, and Matthew Zarit). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 3-6, 2015.
- Participant on “Evaluating the Latest Wave of State Judicial Elections Scholarship.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 16-19, 2015.
- “Evaluating the Effects of Multiple Opinion Rationales on Supreme Court Legitimacy” (with Jarrod Kelly, Kira Pronin, Shane Redman, and Matthew Zarit). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 15-17, 2015.

2014

- Participant on “The Politics of Electing Judges: Bonneau and Cann’s *Voters’ Verdicts*, Gann Hall’s *Attacking Judges*, and Kritzer’s *Justices on the Ballot*.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-31, 2014.

- “Judicial Elections and the Illusion of Pandering” (with Kira Pronin). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 28-31, 2014.
- “Institutions, War Chests, and Candidate Deterrence” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Fourteenth Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, Bloomington, IN, May 15-17, 2014.
- “Judicial Elections and the Illusion of Pandering” (with Kira Pronin). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 3-6, 2014.
- Participant in “Justice At Risk: Research Opportunities and Policy Alternatives Regarding Judicial Selection.” Invited Conference Sponsored by the American Judicature Society, American Constitution Society, and Vanderbilt University School of Law. Nashville, TN, March 20-21, 2014.

2013

- “Incumbency, Ballot Cues, and State Supreme Court Elections” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 29-September 1, 2013.
- “Individual-Level Factors and Voter Participation in Judicial Elections” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL, April 11-14, 2013.
- “Getting Things Straight: How Ballot Design Affects Participation in Judicial Elections” (with Eric Loepp). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL, April 11-14, 2013.
- Participant in “An Uncommon Dialogue: What Do We Want In Our Judges and How Do We Get There?” Invited Conference Sponsored by The Federalist Society, The Aspen Institute, and the Institute for the Advancement of Legal Studies, Colorado Springs, CO, March 28-29, 2013.

2012

- Participant on “Roundtable on the 2012 U.S. Elections: Expectations, Forecasts, and Divination.” Roundtable at the Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties Conference, Oxford, UK, September 7-9, 2012.
- “Individual-Level Factors and Voter Participation in Judicial Elections” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties Conference, Oxford, UK, September 7-9, 2012.
- “State Courts in the U.S: Past, Present, and Future” (with Brent D. Boyea). Paper Presented at the XXX International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, May 23-26, 2012.

- “Party Identification and Vote Choice in Partisan and Nonpartisan Judicial Elections” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 12-14, 2012.

2011

- “Party Identification and Vote Choice in Partisan and Nonpartisan Judicial Elections” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, March 31-April 3, 2011.
- Participant on “Evaluating How Judges Are Selected in the U.S.: Exploring the Normative Implications of Empirical Research.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, March 31-April 3, 2011.

2010

- Participant on “Authors Meet Critics: *In Defense of Judicial Elections*.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2-5, 2010.
- “Campaign Contributions in Judicial Elections” (with Brent Boyea, Damon Cann, and Victoria Farrar-Myers). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 22-25, 2010.

2009

- Participant in “Workshop on the Identification and Integration of Law and Courts Data.” University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, November 7, 2009.
- “Negativity and Television Advertising in State Supreme Court Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, ON, September 3-6, 2009.
- “Contributions to Judicial Campaigns: Assessing Comprehension in an Environment without Partisan Signals” (with Brent Boyea, Damon Cann, and Victoria Farrar-Myers). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, ON, September 3-6, 2009.
- “Going Negative: Attack Advertising in State Supreme Court Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Ninth Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, Chapel Hill, NC, May 22-23, 2009.
- “Contributor Decisions in Judicial Elections: Explaining the Impact of Partisan and Nonpartisan Election Formats” (with Brent Boyea, Damon Cann, and Victoria Farrar-Myers). Paper Presented at the Ninth Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, Chapel Hill, NC, May 22-23, 2009.

- “The Effect of Campaign Contributions on Judicial Decisionmaking” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 8-10, 2009.
- Participant on “Conducting Judicial Research.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 8-10, 2009.

2008

- “Campaign Contributions, Judicial Decisionmaking, and Institutional Context” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28-31, 2008.
- Participant on “The State of Judicial Elections Research.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 3-6, 2008.
- “Campaign Contributions, Judicial Decisionmaking, and Institutional Context” (with Damon Cann). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 3-6, 2008.
- “Judging Under Constraint: Institutions and State Supreme Court Decisionmaking” (with Kevin T. Arceneaux and Paul Brace). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 3-6, 2008.

2007

- “On Consensus in State Supreme Courts” (with Kevin T. Arceneaux and Paul Brace). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 12-15, 2007.
- “Does Money Buy Voters? Campaign Spending and Citizen Participation in State Supreme Court Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Seventh Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, Austin, TX, February 23-24, 2007.
- Participant on “Authors Meet Critics: *Strategic Behavior and Policy Choice on the U.S. Supreme Court* and *The Politics of Precedent on the U.S. Supreme Court*.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 4-6, 2007.
- “Race and the Politics of Criminal Cases on State Supreme Courts” (with Heather Marie Rice). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, January 4-6, 2007.

2006

- “Judicial Independence and Minority Interests” (with Daniel Berkowitz and Karen Clay). Paper Presented at the Conference on Empirical Studies of Courts and Judges, Harvard Law School, November 10, 2006.

- “Educating the Public: The Effects of Judicial Independence on Minority Interests” (with Daniel Berkowitz and Karen Clay). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Society for New Institutional Economics, Boulder, CO, September 21-24, 2006.
- “Judicial Independence, Elections, and Minority Interests” (with Daniel Berkowitz and Karen Clay). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Law and Economics Association, Berkeley, CA, May 5-6, 2006.
- “Mobilizing Interest: The Effects of Money on Ballot Rolloff in State Supreme Court Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 20-23, 2006.

2005

- “On the Nature of Ballot Rolloff in Contemporary State Supreme Court Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005.
- “Do We Really Know It Because We See It? Reconceptualizing Strategic Behavior on the United States Supreme Court” (with Thomas H. Hammond). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005.
- “Voter Participation in State Supreme Court Elections: Can the Electorate Judge Quality?” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Fifth Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, East Lansing, MI, May 13-14, 2005.
- “Conceptualizing ‘Sincere’ and ‘Strategic’ Behavior on the U.S. Supreme Court: How Can We Empirically Tell the Difference?” (with Thomas H. Hammond). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 7-10, 2005.

2004

- “Vacancies on the Bench: Open Seat Elections for State Supreme Courts.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2-5, 2004.
- “Selecting the Majority Opinion on the Supreme Court” (with Forrest Maltzman, Paul J. Wahlbeck, Thomas H. Hammond, and Saul Brenner). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15-18, 2004.
- “Dollars and Sense: Campaign Contributions and State Supreme Court Elections.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15-18, 2004.

2003

- “Challengers, Margins, and State Supreme Court Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August 28-31, 2003.
- Participant on “Teaching Methods to Undergraduates.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, San Antonio, TX, April 16-19, 2003.
- “Understanding the Dynamics of Campaign Spending in State Supreme Court Elections.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 3-6, 2003.
- “Predicting Campaign Spending in State Supreme Court Elections.” Paper Presented at the Third Annual State Politics and Policy Conference, Tucson, AZ, March 14-15, 2003.

2002

- “Money, Judges, and Votes: The Effects of Campaign Spending in State Supreme Court Elections.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 29-September 1, 2002.
- “Campaign Spending in State Supreme Court Elections.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 25-28, 2002.
- Participant on “State of the Discipline: State Courts.” Roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, March 27-30, 2002.

2001

- “A Court of Appeals in a Rational-Choice Model of Supreme Court Decision-Making” (with Thomas H. Hammond and Reginald S. Sheehan). Paper Presented at the Conference on Institutional Games and the U.S. Supreme Court, College Station, TX, November 2-3, 2001.
- “Money and Votes in State Supreme Court Elections.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 30-September 2, 2001.
- “Incumbents, Challengers, and the Politics of Judicial Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 19-22, 2001.
- “Procedural Justice, Fairness, and Local Courts in the United States.” Paper Presented at the Interim Meeting of the Research Committee on Comparative Judicial Studies, International Political Science Association, Cape Town, South Africa, January 7-9, 2001.

2000

- “Fairness, Institutional Legitimacy, and the Courts.” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 31-September 3, 2000.

- “Challengers in State Supreme Court Elections” (with Melinda Gann Hall). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 27-30, 2000.

1999

- “Toward a Rational Choice Spatial Model of Supreme Court Decision-Making: Making Sense of Certiorari, the Original Vote on the Merits, Opinion Assignment, Coalition Formation and Maintenance, and the Final Vote on the Choice of Legal Doctrine” (with Thomas H. Hammond and Reginald S. Sheehan). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, September 2-5, 1999.
- “Perspectives on the Feminist Critique of the Judiciary: A Q-Methodological Approach” (with Ralph E. Baker). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15-17, 1999.
- “Public Perceptions of the Judiciary: Legitimacy and the Feminist Critique” (with Ralph E. Baker). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, March 25-27, 1999.

1998

- “Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg and the ‘Feminine Voice’” (with Ralph E. Baker). Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 23-25, 1998.

Invited Talks

- Buckeye Justice Forum. “Judicial Elections in Ohio.” October 19, 2022.
- Ohio Association for Justice’s Advocates Circle. “Partisan Judicial Elections: Lessons for Ohio.” August 31, 2022.
- PaperClip Communications. “Strategies on Governing in Uncertain Times.” April 25, 2022.
- Allegheny College, Law and Policy Program. “Nonpartisan(?) Judicial Elections.” September 17, 2021.
- Pennsylvania Leadership Conference October Briefing. “Judicial Selection.” October 19, 2019.
- Federalist Society Texas Statewide Conference. “Proposed Reforms to Texas Judicial Selection.” September 14, 2019.
- University of South Alabama. Department of Political Science. “Nonpartisan (?) Judicial Elections.” March 13, 2019.
- University of Oklahoma. Department of Political Science. “Nonpartisan (?) Judicial Elections.” February 11, 2019.

- Federalist Society Counsels Summit. “Judicial Elections.” August 17, 2018.
- Federalist Society Justices Summit. “Judicial Elections.” August 16, 2018.
- American Legislative Exchange Council. “State Judicial Selection.” August 10, 2018.
- Institute for Humane Studies Policy Research Seminar. “Reforming Our Institutions: Judicial Reform.” July 21, 2018.
- John Locke Foundation. “Selecting Judges in North Carolina: Time For a Change?” May 7, 2018.
- St. Louis University Chapter of the Federalist Society. “The Case for Partisan Judicial Elections.” March 29, 2018.
- Triangle Lawyers Chapter of the Federalist Society. “Judicial Selection.” February 15, 2018.
- Federalist Society Pennsylvania Statewide Conference. “What Is the Right Method for Choosing Judges?” October 19, 2017.
- Florida Bar Convention. “The Constitution Revision Commission and Florida’s Judiciary.” June 22, 2017.
- Clemson University. Department of Political Science. “‘Stronger Together’: Political Ambition and the Presentation of Women Running for Office.” November 11, 2016.
- U.S. Government and Politics Advanced Placement Reading Professional Night. “The Supreme Court and the 2016 Presidential Election.” June 5, 2016.
- Princeton University. Department of Politics Public Law Colloquium. “Institutions, War Chests, and Candidate Deterrence.” November 12, 2015.
- Slippery Rock University. Department of Political Science. “Electing Judges: Partisan Influences in Judicial Elections.” October 26, 2015.
- Little Rock Lawyers Chapter of the Federalist Society. “Discussion on Judicial Selection.” June 23, 2015.
- Valparaiso University. Department of Political Science. “Electing Judges: Partisan Influences in Judicial Elections.” May 1, 2015.
- Grove City College. Department of Political Science. “Electing Judges: Partisan Influences in Judicial Elections.” April 9, 2015.
- Temple University. Department of Political Science. “War Chests as Entry Deterrence with Strategic Delay.” March 27, 2015.
- Tulsa Lawyers Chapter of the Federalist Society. “Oklahoma Supreme Court Judicial Selection Reform: Elections vs. Appointment vs. Nominating Committee.” November 21, 2013.

- The Ohio State University. Department of Political Science. "Getting Things Straight: The Effects of Ballot Design and Electoral Structure on Voter Participation." October 16, 2013.
- Utah State University. Department of Political Science. "Negativity and Television Advertising in State Supreme Court Elections." March 5, 2013.
- University of Texas-Arlington. Department of History. "What We Know (and Don't Know) About Judicial Elections." February 22, 2013.
- University of North Carolina. Department of Political Science. "Party Identification and Vote Choice in Partisan and Nonpartisan Judicial Elections." January 11, 2013.
- Federalist Society National Lawyers Convention, State Courts Leadership Luncheon. "State Judicial Elections." November 15, 2012.
- Tallahassee Lawyers Chapter of the Federalist Society. "Judicial Merit Retention in Florida." October 15, 2012.
- University of California, Davis. Department of Political Science. "Party Identification and Vote Choice in Partisan and Nonpartisan Judicial Elections." May 22, 2012.
- Indiana University. Maurer School of Law. University Center of Law, Society, and Culture Symposium on Judicial Selection. April 21, 2011.
- State Bar of Minnesota Appellate Practice Institute, Minneapolis, MN. "Law, Politics, and the Election of Judges." March 4, 2011.
- Rutgers University. Department of Political Science. "Negativity and Television Advertising in State Supreme Court Elections." February 25, 2011.
- Boise State University. Canadian Studies Program. "Why We Should Elect Judges." February 15, 2011.
- University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Boyd School of Law, American Constitution Society. "Destroying the Myths of Judicial Reformers." October 21, 2010.
- University of Nevada, Las Vegas. College of Liberal Arts, University Forum Lecture Series. "Judicial Selection in Nevada: The Consequences of Change." October 20, 2010.
- University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Boyd School of Law. "Why We Should Elect Judges." October, 20, 2010.
- Grove City College. "Why We Should Elect Judges." February 19, 2009.
- Louisiana State University. Department of Political Science. "Mobilizing Interest: The Effects of Money on Citizen Participation in State Supreme Court Elections." October 29, 2007.

- University of South Carolina. Department of Political Science. "Mobilizing Interest: The Effects of Money on Citizen Participation in State Supreme Court Elections." October 22, 2007.
- Penn State University–Fayette. "Trends and Issues in Electing Judges." December 1, 2005.
- Georgia State University. Department of Political Science. "Mobilizing Interest: Money, Quality, and Ballot Rolloff in State Supreme Court Elections." October 27, 2005.
- University of Georgia. Department of Political Science. "Mobilizing Interest: Money, Quality, and Ballot Rolloff in State Supreme Court Elections." October 24, 2005.
- West Virginia University. Department of Political Science. "Electoral Verdicts: Incumbent Defeats in State Supreme Court Elections." April 30, 2004.

Expert Witness

For Plaintiffs

- *Greg Lopez, Rodney Pelton, and Steven House v. Jena Griswold, Colorado Secretary of State, and Judd Choate, Director of Elections*. Civil Case No: 1:22:CV-00247-PAB). 2023.

For Defendants

- *Dyamone White, et al. v. State Board of Elections Commissioners, et al.* Civil Case No: 4:22-CV-62-MPM-JMV. 2023.
- *Alabama State Conference of the NAACP, et al. v. State of Alabama, et al.* Civil Case No: 2:16:CV-731-WKW). 2020.

Courses Taught

Undergraduate

- American Political Process
- Research Methods in Political Science
- Constitutional Law: Governmental Powers
- Constitutional Law: Civil Rights and Civil Liberties
- Judicial Process
- Seminar in American Politics: The Supreme Court
- Seminar in American Politics: Judicial Selection
- Seminar in American Politics: Politics, Science, and Sports

- Inside-Out: Race and the Criminal Justice System
- Inside-Out: Mass Incarceration
- Sports and American Politics
- American Politics Through Film

Graduate

- Empirical Methods of Research (Research Design)
- Advanced Research Methods (Maximum Likelihood)
- Judicial Politics
- Dissertation Overview Seminar

Professional, University, and Department Service

Profession

- Co-Editor, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, June 2014-May 2020.
- Panelist, Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant Panel, Political Science Program, National Science Foundation, 2015-2017.
- Panelist, Law and Social Science Program, National Science Foundation, 2009-2011.
- Review Editor, *Justice System Journal*, 2010-2013.
- Editorial Board Member, *American Politics Research*, 2016-present.
- Editorial Board Member, *Social Science Quarterly*, 2012-present.
- Editorial Board Member, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 2008-2011, 2020-present.
- Editorial Board Member, *Justice System Journal*, 2006-2010, 2014-2015.
- Editorial Board Member, Routledge Law and Courts Series, 2012-present.
- Treasurer, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association, 2012-2014.
- Member, Executive Committee, State Politics Section of the American Political Science Association, 2011-2013.
- Section Chair, Judicial Politics Section, 2012 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.
- Section Chair, State Politics Section, 2008 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

- Section Chair, Positive Political Theory Section, 2008 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.
- Section Chair, Political Methodology Section, 2003 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association.
- Chair, 2021 E. E. Schattschneider Award Committee, American Political Science Association.
- Chair, 2020 C. Neal Tate Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association.
- Member, Committee to Select New Publisher for *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 2019.
- Member, Committee to Select New Editor for the *Journal of Law and Courts*, 2020.
- Member, 2018 Nominations Committee, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association.
- Member, 2016 C. Neal Tate Award Committee, Southern Political Science Association.
- Member, 2016 Lasting Contribution Award Committee, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association.
- Member, 2015 Service Award Committee, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association.
- Chair, 2011 Nominations Committee, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association.
- Member, 2009 Nominations Committee, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association.
- Member, 2005 Teaching and Mentoring Award Committee, Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association.
- Member, 2004 Pi Sigma Alpha Award Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association.
- Reviewer for *American Journal of Political Science*; *American Political Science Review*; *American Politics Research*; Atomic Dog Publishing; CQ Press; *Election Law Journal*; *Electoral Studies*; *Journal of Comparative Economics*; *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*; *Journal of Law and Courts*; *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*; *Journal of Legal Studies*; *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*; *Journal of Politics*; *Journal of Theoretical Politics*; *Judicature*; *Justice System Journal*; *Law and Society Review*; Longman Publishing; McGraw-Hill Publishers; National Science Foundation; NYU Press; Oxford University Press; *Party Politics*; Pearson Publishing; *Political Analysis*; *Political Behavior*; *Political Science Research and Methods*; *Political Research Quarterly*; *Politics, Groups, and Identities*; *Public Administration Review*; Routledge; Roxbury Publishing; *Social Science*

Quarterly; Stanford University Press; *State and Local Government Review*; *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*; Temple University Press; Time-Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences (TESS); University of Chicago Press; University of Michigan Press; University of Virginia Press.

- Member, Executive Committee of the Indiana Political Science Association, 1999-2000.
- Reader, AP Government and Politics Exam, 2004-2006, 2008-2010.
- Table Leader, AP Government and Politics Exam, 2011-2012, 2014-2016.
- Question Leader, AP Government and Politics Exam, 2017-2018.
- Exam Leader, AP Government and Politics Exam, 2019-2021.
- Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association: Discussant 2004, 2006, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2017; Chair 2005, 2010, 2011, 2016, 2017.
- Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association: Discussant 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2010, 2011, 2013; Chair 2005, 2010, 2011, 2013.
- Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association: Discussant 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2012, 2016, 2017; Chair 2006, 2008, 2009, 2012.
- Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association: Discussant 2003; Chair 2003.
- Annual State Politics and Policy Conference: Discussant 2015, 2016; Chair 2014, 2015, 2016.
- Conference on Empirical Studies of Courts and Judges: Discussant 2006.

University

- President, University Senate: 2018-2021.
- Member, Board of Trustees Athletics Committee: 2022-present.
- Member, Board of Trustees Budget Committee: 2018-2022.
- Member, Provost's Advisory Committee on Instructional Excellence, 2022-present.
- Member, Planning Committee for Pitt Diversity Forum 2020: Advancing Social Justice: A Call to Action.
- Member, Search Committee for Vice Provost for Faculty Affairs: 2020.
- Member, Search Committee for Vice Provost for Faculty Development and Diversity: 2020.
- Member, Search Committee for Vice Provost for Graduate Studies: 2020.
- Member, Executive Committee of Task Force for Reimagining Pitt Education: 2020.

- Member, Plan for Pitt 2025 Steering Committee: 2020-2021.
- Member, Arts and Sciences Tenure Council: 2015-2017, 2021-present.
- Alternate member, Arts and Sciences Tenure Council: 2012-2013.
- Co-Chair, Faculty Affairs Committee: 2017-2018.
- Member, Senate Tenure and Academic Freedom Committee: 2011-2018
- Member, Faculty Senate: 2011-2013, 2017-2018.
- Member, Faculty Assembly: 2010-2013, 2016-2018.
- Member, Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences Graduate Council: 2010-2012, 2020-2022.
- Member, Mellon Fellowship Selection Committee: 2008.
- Member, College of Social Science Screening Committee, Michigan State University: 2001.

Department

- Member, Chair's Advisory, Planning, and Budgeting Committee: 2009-2011, 2020-present.
- Member, Formal Theory Search Committee: 2006-2007.
- Member, American Politics Search Committee: 2005-2006, 2012-2013, 2017-2018 (Chair).
- Member, Political Behavior Search Committee: 2016-2017.
- Member, Computational Social Science Search Committee: 2019-2020.
- Chair, Structural Racism Search Committee: 2021-2022, 2022-2023.
- Member, Graduate Awards Committee: 2002-2007, 2011-2013; Chair 2022-present.
- Member, Graduate Admissions Committee: 2005-2011 (Chair, 2007-2011), 2013-2014, 2016-2017, 2021-present.
- Member, Graduate Education Committee: 2011-2014, 2016-2017, 2018-2021; Chair 2022-present.
- Member, Undergraduate Education Committee: 2015-2018.
- Coordinator, Political Methodology Speaker Series: 2004-2008.
- American Politics Exam/Paper Committee (19): Zachary Auter, Ian Cook, Sean Craig, Derek Culp, Brent Dupay, Amanda Leifson, Eric Loepp, Nicole Loncaric, Morgan Marietta, Stephanie McLean, Brandon Myers, Traci Nelson, Heather Rice, Nathaniel Ropski, Tara Stricko, Matt Tarpey, James Tinnick, Eric Wagner, Matthew Weinstein, Michelle Wier.

- Methodology Exam Committee (17): Zachary Auter, Andrea Castagnola, Katharine Floros, Hakan Gunaydin, Jennifer Laks Hutnick, Leslie Marshall, Shawna Metzger, Marilia Mochel, Juan Negri, Lauren Perez, Dana Puia, Juan Carlos Rodriguez-Raga, Daniel Tirone, Sofia Vera, Yu Xiao, Qing Yang, Juan Antonio Rodriguez-Zepeda.
- Comparative Politics Exam/Paper Committee (3): Agustin Grijalva, Dan London, Dana Puia.
- Dissertation Committees Chaired (4):
 - Maria Andrea Castagnola (Adjunct Professor, University of Torcuato Di Tella, and consultant for World Bank)
 - Shane Redman (Senior Data Project Manager and Project Management and User Support Lead, ICPSR)
 - Tara Stricko (Associate Professor of Political Science, Kennesaw State University)
 - Lawrence (LJ) Zigerell (Associate Professor of Political Science, Illinois State University)
- Dissertation Committees Served ():
 - Oliver Bateman (writer)
 - Todd Curry (Western Michigan University; Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Texas–El Paso)
 - Agustin Grijalva (Professor of Law, Universidad Andina, Ecuador)
 - Jonathan Hack (Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science, Lehigh University)
 - Jenna Becker Kane (Temple University; Associate Professor of Political Science, West Chester University)
 - Brandon Lenoir (Assistant Professor, College of Strategic Communication, High Point University)
 - Stephanie McLean (Senior Research Analyst, Royal Canadian Mounted Police)
 - Juan Carlos Rodriguez-Raga (Associate Professor of Political Science, Universidad de los Andes, Colombia)
 - Matt Tarpey (Assistant Professor, Pittsburg State University)

References

Available Upon Request